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ABSTRACT

The simulation game "Conflict", stressing decision making in foreign policy, has several specific objectives which are: 1) to demonstrate the complexity of decision making in foreign policy; 2) to raise questions on foreign relations; 3) to make students aware of problems in world affairs; 4) to help students understand relationships that exist between nations; and, 5) to gain insight into the difficulty of putting theory into actual practice. Conflict in the Middle East is a brief narrative history of this area from 1971 to 1969 designed to be read by secondary students approximately one week before participating in the game "Conflict" which can be played in three or four class periods of about one hour each. The Teacher's Manual, a guide to the international relations game, is arranged in three major parts. Part I, "Foreign Policy and the International System", defines and explains the objectives of foreign policy. Determinants, themes, instruments, and decision making patterns are listed as key components upon which to conduct the game. Part II presents an organized framework within which the Middle East conflict has developed and may be experienced in game format. Specific suggestions, for activities and their schedules are presented. Part III contains supplemental materials; summary statements, news releases, and sample forms are included for reproduction by the teacher. (SJM)

ED056958

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

THE LINCOLN FILENE CENTER FOR CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS

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CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

This narrative deals with the explosive situation in the Middle East, tracing the historical development of that region and the opposing forces at work there. The narrative is designed to accompany "CONFLICT," a simulation exercise stressing decision making in foreign policy. The narrative and the game were developed by Stephen M. Johnson, a research assistant at the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, for the National Defense Education Act Foreign Policy Institute for Secondary School Teachers in the summer of 1968.

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1969

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Today's headlines tell us of terrorist raids, bombings, and reprisals between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East. For 20 years now, that corner of the world where Asia, Africa, and Europe come together has been the scene of almost constant tension and warfare. The conflict has spilled over into the United Nations and always threatens to bring in the world's two "superpowers," the United States and the U.S.S.R. At the end of 1968, Israel and her Arab enemies were locked in a dangerous game of raid and reprisal that threatened once again to plunge the Middle East into open warfare.

Most of the area we now call the Middle East was under the control of a single ruler, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, well into the twentieth century. The Sultan's control steadily weakened, as European powers struggled to gain colonies and influence in the region and as nationalist movements grew up, demanding complete independence for the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. That Empire -- known increasingly as "the sick man of Europe" because of its weaknesses -- collapsed at the end of the First World War. The Ottoman Empire had allied itself with Germany and Austria-Hungary in that war, and when these countries were defeated, the Empire was doomed.

The peace treaty was drawn up in a conference at Versailles, a famous palace just outside Paris. The victorious powers -- the United States, France, Great Britain, and Italy -- decided to send an investigation team, called the King-Crane Commission, to the Middle East to determine what should be done

with the peoples who had lived under the old Ottoman Empire. The King-Crane Commission also studied the possibility of establishing in the Middle East a permanent home for the Jewish people. After visiting the area and talking with many local political and religious leaders, the King-Crane Commission recommended that the United States temporarily assume control over the peoples of Syria and Palestine, and that the establishment of a Jewish homeland in the region be discouraged.

The United States, weary of foreign wars and alliances, refused to accept a new responsibility for the peoples of Syria and Palestine, and so the Versailles Peace Conference "awarded" Syria to France and Palestine to Great Britain. As for the rest of the Middle East, Iraq and Iran were already nearly independent, and Egypt remained a part of the vast British Empire. During the First World War, the British, anxious to do everything possible to weaken the Ottoman Empire, had constantly encouraged the peoples of the Empire to rebel against Ottoman rule, in the hope that Ottoman troops would be tied down fighting local guerrilla wars instead of fighting British troops. As a reward for these uprisings, the British offered the local Arab leaders independence when the war against the Ottoman Empire was finally over. Britain was only partly faithful to her promises to the Arabs. British and French control and influence merely replaced Ottoman control after 1918, and the Arabs were still not completely free.

It was during the First World War that Britain issued the Balfour Declaration, a confusing document that on one hand promised support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, but on the other hand reassured the Palestinian Arabs that their rights would be protected. Although the Versailles Peace Conference did not provide for a Jewish homeland in the Middle East, the Balfour Declaration encouraged many thousands of Jews to leave Europe and make their homes in Palestine between the First and Second World Wars. The British, who controlled Palestine during these years, found it increasingly difficult to maintain peace between the Palestinian Arabs and the increasing number of Jewish immigrants. The Balfour Declaration had really only confused matters more, and the British had to spend a great deal of time and money between the wars in keeping the conflict in Palestine from erupting into open warfare between Arabs and Jews.

During the Second World War, as during the First, the Western allies tried to play the peoples of the Middle East off against the Germans and their allies. The Middle East capitals were centers of espionage and intrigue as the Allies and the Axis Powers (Germany and Italy) fought for influence among the Arab peoples. All the while, new thousands of Jewish immigrants were arriving in Palestine, having escaped from the horrors of Hitler's concentration camps. Pressure mounted in America and the rest of the free world for Britain to allow increased Jewish immigration into Palestine and for the establishment of a Jewish national state there. The British, faced with their long

record of reassurances to the Arab peoples and the rising incidence of disorder inside Palestine as the Second World War ended and the flow of Jewish immigrants increased, decided to rid themselves of the problem by dumping the Palestine question into the lap of the new United Nations Organization.

The United Nations proposed a "partition" for Palestine, turning it into a "binational" state with both Jewish and Arab provinces. The holy city of Jerusalem was to be administered by the United Nations as an international city. In a rare show of unity, both the United States and the Soviet Union backed this United Nations proposal. But before the United Nations had had a chance to try out its plan, the Jewish population of Palestine in May, 1948, declared its independence and named the new nation "Israel." President Truman immediately recognized the new Jewish state, and many other European and Latin American nations quickly followed suit.

War broke out as soon as Israel was established, and each side blamed the other for starting it. Israel claimed that Arab armies had attacked without provocation. The Arabs answered that Israel was not really a state at all and had been established by Western powers only to maintain outside control of the Middle East. Israel, quickly defeating the Arab armies that had surrounded the country, gained control of most of what had been Palestine. More importantly for the future, almost a million Arabs were forced to flee from their homes in Israeli-occupied Palestine. For the next 20 years, these Arab

refugees were at the center of the conflict in the Middle East.

Armed conflict broke out in the area again in 1956, when Israeli, British, and French forces invaded Egypt in an unsuccessful attempt to bring down the regime of President Nasser and gain control once again of the Suez Canal, which Nasser had taken away from a British company on July 26, 1956. Again the United States and the Soviet Union acted together in the United Nations to help bring about a cease-fire along the Suez Canal. A United Nations Emergency Force (U.N.E.F.) was soon sent to Egypt to keep the frontier between Israel and Egypt peaceful. The U.N.E.F. stayed until 1967.

Between 1956 and 1967, the Middle East continued to be a troublesome area. A whole generation of Arab refugees was growing to maturity with only a single wish: to reconquer Palestine from the "Jewish invaders." On the other hand, Israel was growing strong and confident, modeling many of its institutions and programs after Western examples. Israel received a great deal of assistance from the United States and took a strong position against international Communism, which was making some gains among the Arab leaders.

War broke out again in 1967, when Egypt threatened to blockade the port of Elath in southern Israel. In spite of overwhelming military superiority and assistance from Russian "advisers," the Arabs were again defeated, this time in only six days. As a result of this "June War" of 1967, Israel controlled even more land which had never before been part of its territory, such as the Gaza

Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the city of Jerusalem, the Golan Heights of Syria, and the West Bank of the Jordan River. Israel gained thousands of unwilling Arab refugees as well. The Arabs were more embittered than ever before.

During 1967 and 1968, tensions remained high in the Middle East. Gunfire erupted many times along both sides of the cease-fire lines and hundreds of Arab and Israeli soldiers and citizens were killed or wounded. Innocent villagers on both sides were attacked, and the undeclared war spread to airports in Greece and Lebanon. No one really believed that peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors was close at hand.

What would life in the Middle East since the end of the Second World War have been like had Israel never existed? Israel has figured so largely in the events of the past 20 years that it is difficult to imagine an all-Arab Middle East. But perhaps the over-all character of the Arab experience would have been similar, even without the existence of Israel. The traditional concern of the British and French for the Suez Canal would have produced tensions when confronted with Egypt's natural desire to control its own resources and to be master of its territory. The dependence of Western Europe on oil produced in the Middle East would have created a crisis if that oil supply were threatened. The Soviet Union would have tried to influence the course of nationalist revolutions and governments in the area.

There would have been a struggle for the leadership of the Arab world

between the newer and radical leaders of Egypt and Syria on the one hand and the more conservative rulers of Lebanon and Jordan and the oil-producing sheikdoms on the other. The Arab League, which was established in 1945, sought to guarantee the full sovereignty of all its members. It established the rule that no Arab country had a right to intervene in the domestic affairs of another Arab country. But this rule has been broken many times, as the leaders of such countries as Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq struggled for power and influence among the Arab masses of the region. The rivalry between radicals and conservatives continues to this day, even while the undeclared war against Israel goes on.

The Arabs have struggled against the Western forces that have ruled and dominated them for more than a century. Most Arabs believe that the West in somehow responsible for their present plight. Western concepts like "modernization" and "constitutionalism" have not been popular with some Arab leaders, who resent any Western efforts to force a different way of life on the Arab peoples. Even though many of the countries have received considerable military and economic assistance from the West, these countries remain hostile toward the West.

The interests of the Western powers themselves have not always been identical, and this lack of harmony has provided another factor important to the recent history of the Middle East. In 1957, President Eisenhower of the United States announced that from that time on this country would feel obliged

to intervene on behalf of countries which felt threatened by international Communism. President Eisenhower thought that it was necessary to make such a statement because of the gradual decline of British and French influence in the Middle East. Actually the United States itself may have hastened that decline of British and French influence when it condemned Britain and France during the Suez crisis of 1956. Since 1956, the United States has emerged as Israel's strongest supporter in the West.

Although direct British influence is declining, its economic concern with the Middle East remains. Britain no longer has an Empire, but the "Commonwealth" which replaced the Empire is still vitally important to the British economy. Any interference with trade between Britain and its Commonwealth partners is considered a threat to their very survival. This is why Britain intervened in 1956 to try to regain control of the Suez Canal. Britain is also vitally interested in maintaining a steady flow of oil from the Middle Eastern states along the Persian Gulf and so fears the attempts by such Arab radicals as Nasser to overthrow the pro-British governments of the Persian Gulf sheikdoms. For the present, the British are following a policy of support for Israel and the conservative oil-producing Arab countries, but British soldiers have been withdrawn from Arab territory.

General de Gaulle of France believes that his country's influence in the Middle East has actually increased since the French gave up political and military control over the Arabs. As France gave up its colonial possessions,

General de Gaulle made many friends among the newly independent nations of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The General believes that France can play the role of a "third force" between the United States and the Soviet Union. When France took a position favorable to the Arabs in the "June War" of 1967, de Gaulle gained much support among Arab leaders, even though this position angered many in Israel, the United States, and Britain. France can be expected to continue to play this "independent" role in Middle East politics.

The Soviet leaders (and before them the old Russian Czars) have always been interested in the turbulent politics of the Middle East. It was in the interests of international Communism that Western power and influence should be removed from the Middle East; that conservative Arab governments should be overthrown by radical movements; that the supply of oil to Western Europe should be made to appear unsafe; and that the Mediterranean Sea should become opened up to Soviet naval vessels and merchant ships. The Soviets have been quite successful in many ways. Since they had no real responsibilities for governing or protecting economic investments in the area, the Soviets felt no obligation to "cool off" the Arab leaders. The Russians have been able to back almost every radical group that seeks to overthrow a government in the Middle East. The Soviets have offered and provided large amounts of military and economic aid to the Arab leaders in Syria and Egypt. For 20 years the Soviets have continued to stir up the poor Palestinian refugees, urging them to continue their struggle against the government of Israel.

While local rivalries and disputes could make Russian attempts at subversion and chaos easier, these same disputes were bound to cause the Soviets trouble once the leaders in Moscow had taken sides. The Soviets could not get away with backing both sides at the same time, as they tried to do with the radical and anti-Western governments of Egypt and Iraq in the late nineteen fifties. Similarly, while the Soviets liked President Nasser, they also supported the Egyptian Communist Party, which was working to overthrow Nasser! The Soviets had a great "falling out" with Nasser in 1959, when he clamped down on the Communists in his country. But the Soviets never completely broke with Nasser, and for the past few years they have supplied his army and air force with millions of dollars worth of equipment. They have bitterly opposed the government of Israel ever since 1956. This is why the Arab-Israeli struggle is really part of the larger cold war between East and West.

Today the Soviets have the same kind of "protective" relationships with some of the radical Arab countries that the United States has with Israel and the conservative oil-producing sheikdoms along the Persian Gulf. Local Communist parties have met with little success among the Arabs, and the Arabs are not likely to adopt Soviet-style Communist governments. Nevertheless, by making constant warlike statements against the West and Israel, the Soviets have been quite successful in "keeping the pot boiling" in the Middle East and also by large-scale arms shipments to the Arabs (especially since the end of the "June War" in 1967), by the encouragement of local rebellions, and by great propaganda campaigns

designed to show the friendship of the Russian people for the Arab peoples. The Soviets' key to success, in fact, is their loudly proclaimed anti-Western feeling, which is shared by the Arab people of the Middle East. Clearly, the Soviets up until now have not thought it wise to have a direct "confrontation" in the Middle East between the United States and the U.S.S.R. The friendship of the Arab leaders apparently is not a great enough prize to risk atomic war with the United States.

For its part, the United States has always sought to prevent the expansion of Communist influence anywhere in the world. Since the end of the Second World War, this Communist influence has made its greatest gains among the new nations of Africa and Asia. Therefore, we have made defense treaties with friendly nations in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. We have strongly supported Israel since its declaration of independence in 1948 (even though we disagreed with its invasion of Egypt in 1956). We have made agreements with many nations in the Middle East to promote economic development, both because we think progress is beneficial for its own sake and because we fear the Soviet Union's use of instability and poverty to promote Communism. The United States sent troops to Lebanon in 1958 when that country was threatened with a Communist take-over.

The United States has paid a price for its defense of Israel and its policy of containing Communist expansion. Many Arabs are unable to see the difference between old-fashioned British or French colonialism and the new American

"imperialism." They feel that Israel, with its dependence on American military aid and moral support, its Western culture, its alien religious and political systems, is no more than a new American colony in the midst of a hostile Arab world.

While these "Great Powers" are important, the countries of the Middle East themselves play the major role in the drama of that troubled region. And while the Arab-Israeli conflict did not create the situation of the people in the Middle East, it has brought out some of their most trying characteristics, intensified their fears and suspicions, and poisoned the atmosphere.

Israel's struggle is no less than a fight for survival. Hardly a day passes without a commando raid by Arab terrorists or a threat from some Arab capital to destroy Israel. The Israelis, having lived in a virtual state of siege for two decades, have as their goal the achievement of domestic peace and security and the stability of the country's borders. They would prefer to have this stability achieved through Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist as a state. Such recognition has never come from the Arabs, who still insist on referring to Israel as "Israeli-occupied Palestine," thus keeping alive the slim hopes of a million refugees that some day the Israelis will be driven into the sea, as Nasser has promised. So Israel has been forced to build a military buffer around itself. After each war, Israel has tacked on Arab lands to its territory. The continued absorption of new territory and Arab people into Israel means that its borders are now much longer, its Arab citizens more

sullen and bitter, and its own Jewish citizens in danger of being outnumbered by Arabs. Although Israel seeks political, military, and economic security, each military victory ironically increases the country's problems and further widens the gap between Arab and Jew in the Middle East.

President Nasser's goal has always been to secure for himself and Egypt the uncontested title to leadership of the Arab world. Nasser has used the issue of Israel to further his own ambitions. In the name of "solidarity against Israel," he has time and again undermined his Arab rivals. At the same time, Nasser has found that while nothing of major significance can be accomplished by the Arabs without Egyptian leadership, Egypt alone is incapable of bringing peace and unity to the Arab world. Egypt itself remains very dependent on economic and military assistance from the Soviet Union. The Israeli occupation of Egyptian territory after the "June War" of 1967 must be ended if Nasser is to claim any kind of leadership, for such an occupation symbolizes his country's disgrace and defeat. Even after the massive rearmament program of 1967 and 1968, Egypt is still too weak to defeat Israel on the battlefield. Nasser must either rely on his Arab neighbors for support, ask the Soviets to intervene for him, or seek a peaceful, diplomatic solution. He has not sought such a solution in the past, and events of late 1968 suggest that Nasser may be gearing his forces up for another war with Israel, the fourth in his lifetime.

The Kingdom of Jordan has gone from crisis to crisis since independence was granted by Britain after the Second World War. Totally dependent on economic

aid for its very existence, Jordan has always turned to the West for support, even though this has angered President Nasser and the Soviets. Jordan's young King Hussein has always been distrustful of Nasser and the Communists. Yet Jordan did fight alongside other Arab countries in the 1967 war with Israel. Jordan lost all its land west of the Jordan River (the West Bank) to Israel after the 1967 war. Perhaps more important, thousands of new refugees streamed into what was left of King Hussein's country, vowing to carry on the struggle against Israel by guerrilla warfare and terrorist attack. The activities of the Palestine Liberation Army (P.L.A.) simply bring retaliation against Jordan by Israel, even though the P.L.A. is not under King Hussein's control. For Hussein, no goal can be more important than securing the return of the West Bank, for without it Jordan cannot survive economically. In the past, the King has seemed more willing than other Arab leaders to make a peace treaty with Israel, but he knows that such a move would enrage the rest of the Arab world and especially the thousands of Palestinian refugees now living in Jordan. The fact that King Hussein is the most moderate of the Arab leaders has not protected him from Israeli raids. As the weakest of Israel's neighbors, and the most exposed, Jordan continually is subjected to attacks from Israel and pressure from more radical Arab leaders. Jordan's path is a difficult one.

Syria is perhaps the most warlike Arab country, but internal instability has prevented the nation from playing a leading role in Middle East politics.

It has long appeared to be merely a junior partner in Egypt's plans. From 1958 until 1961, Syria and Egypt were joined as the United Arab Republic. Although that political marriage was formally ended in 1961, Syria continues to be Egypt's most dependable ally. Syria has tried to influence other Arab countries by influencing Nasser himself. Had it not been for Syrian threats and pleas in the spring of 1967, Nasser might not have thrown out the United Nations Emergency Force (which had been in Egypt since 1957) and thus made a new war with Israel almost inevitable. Syria, like Egypt, has been re-arming since 1967 with Soviet weapons and equipment, but it lacks the military power to defeat Israel or to drive Israeli forces from the Golan Heights, once under Syrian control. Syria's warlike mood and its constant threats to drive Israel "into the sea" are helping to keep the Middle East on the verge of war. But Syria is dependent on Soviet aid, overshadowed by Egypt and Nasser, and was humiliated by Israel in the 1967 war. So the Syrian government must try harder to find a way to assert its position among Arab countries.

Lebanon, which borders Israel on the north, is a political and religious curiosity in the Middle East. It was once part of Syria and was given its independence from France when the Second World War ended. The culture of Lebanon is almost entirely Western and French; more than half the people are Christian, not Moslem. The political system has been democratic since independence. The President of the Republic and the Army Chief of Staff are, by law, Christians. The Premier must be a Moslem. This enforced "balance" between the two

religious communities has sometimes brought confusion to Lebanon's policies. In the 1967 war, the Moslem Premier ordered the army to attack Israel, but the Christian President and Army Chief of Staff ignored the order. Perhaps because of its large Christian population, Lebanon more than other Arab countries looks to the West for support and friendship. In 1958, the United States sent thousands of marines into Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, to save the Lebanese government from a revolution that had the backing of Egypt and the Soviet Union. The Moslems inside Lebanon are unhappy with their government's moderate stand and would like to have the nation follow the lead of Nasser's Egypt more closely. Lebanon is the commercial center of the Middle East, where many Western companies have their headquarters. There is also a large Western (and especially American) community in Lebanon. The Israeli terrorist raid on Beirut's large international airport in the closing hours of 1968 may have been a military success, but it was a political failure, for pressure seems to be growing inside Lebanon for some kind of action against Israel. Lebanon may be drifting closer toward Syria and Egypt. The relaxation of tension which would come from a final peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli problem would obviously be in Lebanon's best interest, but such a solution now seems farther away than ever before.

Iraq has been the scene of several revolutions in the past decade. Until 1958, it was a member of the Western-led "Baghdad Pact" (which also included Britain, Iran, and Turkey, but not the United States). In that year, the pro-Western government was overthrown by a pro-Nasser army general,

Abdul Karim Kassim. When Kassim showed signs of using the Communists to throw out the Nasserites, Egypt became very uneasy. In 1963, a military coup, thought to be engineered by Syrians and Egyptians, overthrew Kassim and brought in a government that was much closer to Nasser. The Iraqi government since then has been a strong ally of Egypt.

Iran and Turkey, two non-Arab states, have long been pro-Western. They were early members of the Baghdad Pact and are very anti-Communist. They are unlikely to give the Arab countries any help in a war with Israel. But a feeling of neutralism and anti-Westernism may be growing among the people of Turkey and Iran, despite the large amount of economic and military assistance from the West in recent years. Still, the governments of Iran and Turkey fear their powerful Communist neighbor to the north, the Soviet Union, more than they fear Israel or the West.

The clash of religions, political ideologies, strong personal ambitions, and nationalisms has generated 20 years of conflict in the Middle East. The internal politics of the countries are likewise unstable and explosive. The United Nations has been only partially successful in bringing temporary and incomplete peace to the area. The great powers continue to invest heavily in the Middle East, sending millions of dollars' worth of military equipment to both sides in the Arab-Israeli struggle. More than a million Arab refugees from Palestine wait impatiently to return to their "homeland." All the while, the Middle East remains a poor and underdeveloped area. Prospects for a lasting and just peace between Arab and Israeli, and among the Arabs themselves, are not bright.

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CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

TEACHER'S MANUAL

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Division of Secondary Social Studies
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CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

This teacher's manual is intended as a guide to the planning and administration of an international-relations game centered around the explosive situation in the Middle East. More specifically, the game seeks to induce in the participants a better understanding of, and appreciation for, the complexity of decision making in foreign policy. The manual includes an introduction to foreign policy in the international system (intended to be used by the teacher in preparing the students for the game); a description of the game itself (containing detailed instructions for its use in the social studies classroom); and a complete set of materials needed for the game. The teacher is encouraged to reproduce these materials for use by the students playing the game. Narratives for students dealing with the historical background of the Middle East accompany the teacher's manual.

The manual and the narratives were developed by Stephen M. Johnson, a research assistant at the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, for the National Defense Education Act Foreign Policy Institute for Secondary School Teachers in the summer of 1968. The Lincoln Filene Center wishes to thank Newsweek magazine's Educational Division for its cooperation and assistance in the development of the CONFLICT game.

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Part I

Introduction: Foreign Policy and the International System

Foreign policy is the official position and program with regard to foreign nations formulated, implemented, and applied by the governing officials of a country. It seeks to advance the security and well-being of the state's central interests by giving and/or taking, buying and/or selling, or trading valued resources with the other states in the international system. The basic foreign policy goals of the United States government were set forth a few years ago by the Department of State as follows:

1. To deter or defeat aggression at any level, whether of nuclear attack or limited war or subversion and guerrilla tactics; that is, "Security through Strength."

2. To bring about a closer association of the more industrialized democracies of Western Europe, North America, and Asia -- specifically Japan -- in promoting the prosperity and security of the entire free world; in other words, "Progress through Partnership."

3. To help the less developed areas of the world carry through their revolution of modernization without sacrificing their independence or pursuit of democracy; that is, a "Revolution of Freedom."

4. To assist in the gradual emergence of a genuine world community, based on cooperation and law, through the establishment and development of such organs as the United Nations, the World Court, the World Bank and Monetary Fund, and other global and regional institutions; that is, a world "Community under Law."

5. To strive tirelessly to end the arms race and reduce the risk of war, to narrow the areas of conflict with the Communist bloc, and to continue to spin the infinity of threads that bind peace together; that is, to win "Peace through Perseverance." *

These basic foreign policy objectives, admirable as they may be, are too vague, too universal, to serve as guides to actual policy making in a crisis situation. Such lofty goals cannot tell the American Secretary of State how to act in Vietnam, whether to intervene in the Congo, or the amount of diplomatic and political support we should give to the opposing sides in the Middle East crisis. Lofty foreign policy objectives are but one small factor in the day-to-day administration of a nation's transactions with other governments and movements. It is quite impossible for the leaders of any nation simply to "plug in" an appropriate foreign policy to solve a particular crisis. And those crises are not easily distinguishable and independent: the Middle East "crisis" has lasted at least 20 years, has involved all the nations and peoples of the region and most of the world's larger powers, and has pitted ideologies, religions, and peoples against one another. Finally, the Middle East doesn't exist in a vacuum: events there influence -- and are influenced by -- events elsewhere in the world.

Foreign policy is thus a complicated and often confusing pattern of relationships among men, institutions, ideologies, and interests. The CONFLICT game is not an attempt to answer questions about foreign policy, but instead to raise them:

How do personalities influence foreign policy?

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* Source: U.S. Department of State, Five Goals of U.S. Foreign Policy (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, October, 1962).

How do domestic institutions and attitudes influence foreign policy?

To what extent are nations prisoners of their own past?

Does the press help to make policy or simply report it?

What are some of the loyalities that compete for the allegiance of the decision maker?

We can identify at least four dimensions of foreign policy -- determinants, themes, instruments, and decision-making patterns. The CONFLICT game attempts to induce in the student -- on the basis of his own game-world experiences -- an awareness of and a compassion for the problems of foreign policy and the men who must make it.

The teacher will want his students to recognize some of these components of foreign policy:

1. Determinants. A variety of interrelated factors determine a nation's foreign policy, among them:

   a. The nature and role of the governing officials

   b. External demands (especially threats) upon the state

   c. Historical experience of the nation and its people

   d. The character, role, and demands of the populace

   e. The nature, functions, and demands of domestic institutions, such as the press, the political party structure, and the economic system

   f. The nation's ideology, dominant religion, or ethos

   g. The nation's geography

2. Themes. There are recurring themes in human history, many of which are not immediately identified with relations among states. For instance, how do human relations in the United States today in terms of the civil rights movement affect the role of this nation in Africa and Asia? What were some of the foreign policy problems of nation building in the United States in the 1790's and how do they compare with nation building in Egypt or Israel in the 1960's? Some of these themes influencing foreign policy are:

a. Human relations or human rights (within one state or between it and other states)

b. Nation building (within one state or with respect to other states)

c. Commitment (to one or more states)

d. Revolution (within one state or with respect to other states)

e. Prevention of conflict

f. Conflict (preparation for, engagement in)

g. Resolution of conflict

h. Trade and aid

i. Domestic sources of foreign policy

j. Public diplomacy (the Peace Corps, the Experiment in International Living, the hospital ship Hope).

3. Instruments. A government has many tools at its disposal to seek to explain and then implement foreign policy. Among them:

a. Official government policy statements (by the President, his Secretary of State, an Ambassador)

b. The application of those policies (diplomatic recognition)

c. Media (United States Information Agency, Pravda)

d. Economic resources (foreign aid)

e. Military resources (military advisers, American forces in Vietnam, the threat of nuclear retaliation)

f. Propaganda procedures (the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Havana)

g. Subversion procedures (terrorism, assassination)

h. The United Nations

i. State visits and other conferences (Glassboro, Vienna, Paris Peace Talks)

4. Decision-making Patterns. States may differ in the precise way in which they determine policy, but all states share general steps or stages in making decisions:

a. Initial reception and analysis of information

b. Primary consultations among top leaders

c. The identification of courses of action, with priorities and alternatives

d. The actual determination of policy, that is; the selection of one alternative to follow

e. The implementation and execution of policy

f. The analysis of "feedback," or domestic and foreign responses to this policy

The decision-making process is circular; the last step in resolving a crisis becomes the first step in resolving a new crisis or the transformation of the original crisis. Thus "crises" do not exist in a vacuum or appear only once. Crises seem never-ending to the policy maker, heating up and cooling down, disappearing in one region only to reappear in disguised form elsewhere. So it is that a government deals not with periodic crises, but with a continuing crisis of varying intensity and scope.

The CONFLICT game, when accompanied by skillful briefing and debriefing sessions and the utilization of outside readings, is one tested strategy for bringing the terrible burdens and doubts of foreign policy decision making into the classroom. It is an attempt to narrow the gap between the theory and the practice of international relations.

Part II

1. Design of the CONFLICT World

The CONFLICT world consists of nine nations: the United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France, Israel, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon. The students are provided with a narrative presenting the world setting and background of conflict in the Middle East.

The students may wish to simulate a United Nations presence in the game world. In this case, the teacher may select one student to serve as that body's Secretary-General, and set aside one half-hour period during the second or third game period for a United Nations meeting. Many CONFLICT games have consciously patterned themselves after real world experience, seeking to create a U.N. "policy" on the Middle East, going so far as to appoint several players as "U.N. Observers." A number of these games have been resolved by a U.N.-imposed settlement to the crisis. Several tables can be pushed together to represent the General Assembly, with each nation being represented by its Foreign Policy Adviser. It is wise to limit these U.N. sessions to 30 minutes and to ask the Secretary-General to prepare the agenda and guide the discussion.

The teacher may wish to build in an additional team, the "Palestine Liberation Army." Such a team would be composed of three players: the Liberation Front President, the Military Commander, and the Foreign Minister.

2. Organization of the teams

Each team is composed of five members: the Head of State, the Foreign Policy Adviser, the Military Adviser, the Political Adviser, and the Opposition

Leader. All team members are expected to read the narrative before the game begins. In addition, each team member is to prepare a short essay on his role in the political system of his respective country. In general, the team members are assigned these tasks:

Head of State: is responsible for every decision taken by his government. He is the final arbiter of all decisions. He remains at his team's table at all times, except in the event of a summit conference. He directs policy discussions, dispatches envoys to other countries, and may make compromises with his team's Opposition Leader.

Foreign Policy Adviser: is responsible for his team's relations with other teams in the CONFLICT world. He attends international conferences and private meetings with representatives from other teams. He is responsible for the intelligence activities of his nation. He acts as a sort of one-man State Department, reading all incoming messages and preparing foreign policy recommendations for his team.

Military Adviser: must keep alert to all the military moves of the other teams and plan his own team's military strategy. He must never make military decisions on his own; he must secure the consent of the HEAD OF STATE.

Political Adviser: is responsible for gauging the probable feelings of the people in his country and for determining whether his government's policies are meeting with favor among the people. If he thinks public reaction to a policy may be negative, he may argue against the adoption of that policy, but the POLITICAL ADVISER is part of the government.

Opposition Leader: has the option of either supporting or opposing his team's policies. He represents whatever elements there are in his country that are antigovernment. He may successfully overturn a government policy by convincing two other members of the team that he is right.

The team should sit together around a small table, discussing all incoming messages, possible decisions, and information to be released to the World Times (If tables are not available, the team members can easily move their chairs or desks into a small circle).

3. Organization of Control

The teacher probably will wish to play the role of Control himself. Control simply acts as a sort of "umpire," seeing to it that the basic rules of the game are obeyed, that established procedures are followed, and that all decisions made by the teams are "possible" within broad limits set by the historical background and resources of the teams. Thus, Control must from time to time step in to halt the play temporarily and to explain to the members of one or more teams that a certain proposed course of action is not permissible, given the "game culture." An example of such a situation would be an announcement by the Lebanese government that it intended to use nuclear weapons against Israel. The Lebanese government in fact possesses neither the technical capability to acquire such weapons nor the delivery system to get them to targets in Israel. The teacher would halt the play to explain to the Lebanon team that their policy was not "realistic," and ask them to select an alternative. Control does not, however, dictate that alternative.

Since all decisions and game actions must pass across the Control desk before being implemented and realized, the teacher can maintain a constant vigilence over the atmosphere and progress of the game. The teacher should remain as invisible as possible during the game, however, interceding only to answer procedural questions and to rule on the validity of certain questionable team decisions. But remember, the teacher is to rule only on whether the decision in question falls within the broad rules of the game, not on whether the decision is a wise or just one.

The teacher's primary responsibility in the CONFLICT game lies in briefing the students on the procedures of the game and the scope of possible decisons and outcomes and in assigning team membership and roles. This pre-game briefing is vitally important to the success of the game. Teacher and students alike must be well versed in the mechanics of the game, so that the decision making and its subsequent feedback can command the players' full attention.

One of Control's more difficult tasks is the determination of gains and losses, winners and losers, should the game result in a war. Control should have ample warning of an impending clash: message and decision forms will reveal preparations for war. Control can at this time decide to "intervene" from above: a temporary cooling-off period can be enforced, editorials in the newspaper can warn against the resort to arms, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations can be persuaded to call an emergency session. Should a war be declared, however, it is Control's job to rule on the matter of the scope

and resolution of the fighting. Control has access to the approximate military strengths of the belligerents (The Military Balance), and must determine from this information and from the capabilities of the different teams the outcome of the war. As soon as war has been declared on an Official Decision Form, Control must begin making periodic statements on the progress of the war. Such statements can reflect equal or unequal losses to the combatants and will undoubtedly encourage one or both sides to begin looking for a way to move the conflict from the battlefield to the conference table once again. The teacher -- acting as Control -- must use his discretion in these situations, since he has become a player himself and is not merely an observer or umpire.

4. Organization of the World Times

At the heart of the CONFLICT game is the sense of drama and immediacy provided by the World Times. The Times is a single-page mimeographed sheet reporting the news of the game world. It is the best single source of information available to the players on events elsewhere in the game world. The paper should be "published" at least three times an hour. This makes the operation of the World Times perhaps the most demanding task of the game. Four or five dependable students should be assigned to the World Times staff. One serves as EDITOR, reading all the incoming press releases and intelligence scoops and deciding on the make-up of the next edition. One or more REPORTERS circulate around the game room interviewing selected players, "sniffing out stories." Every 10 to 15 minutes the REPORTERS submit their brief stories (no more than a single

paragraph in length) to the EDITOR. The EDITOR then arranges the stories, perhaps adding an editorial of his own. The rough copy of this next edition is then passed on to the TYPIST, who cuts the stencil for the single-page paper. Speed is of the essence here, and slight typographical errors can be overlooked. The game culture must be constantly infused with "hot news" so that the players can learn the reactions to their decisions and not feel as if they are operating in a vacuum. As soon as the paper is run off on the stencil or ditto machine, it is distributed to every player by the REPORTERS. A skillful EDITOR and persistent REPORTERS can make the World Times an integral part of the game. Similarly, teams can attempt to "manage" the news, to write angry letters to the EDITOR, or even to bar the REPORTERS from their territory. To add an extra sense of excitement and suspense to the game, Control may decide to pass every tenth message to the World Times. Thus the "news leak" and the "intelligence failure" are made a part of the game.

5. The Game Play

CONFLICT is best played over a period of three or four successive class meetings, each lasting about an hour. The game can be played by the students of a single large class, or between different classrooms. The game itself proceeds as follows:

The student narrative, Conflict in the Middle East, should be distributed at least a week prior to the beginning of play. Students should be told at this time their respective teams and roles and should be encouraged to do outside reading

and to discuss possible alternative strategies with their teammates. They should be warned, however, that all play will follow from the "Scenario," which provides the actual "crisis setting" for the game, and the dynamics of the game are the actions and reactions of the players in response to this "Scenario." Thus it is useless to map out a detailed strategy until the game actually begins. Nevertheless, it is useful to have team members learn to work together and to share thoughts on national goals and possible strategies. It is quite likely that the students will begin "plotting" and "scheming" even before the game itself begins. This is to be expected and even encouraged.

A full class period should be devoted to the Briefing Session. At this time, the teacher presents a detailed explanation of the procedures and roles in the game. He explains his own role as Control and that of the World Times. He reviews the major issues at stake in the Middle East and brings the Student Narrative up to date. He explains the proper use of the message and decision forms and the statements of national goals. He answers procedural and substantive questions about the game and may make changes in team personnel, if he thinks it necessary.

The teacher must arrange for the use of a typewriter and a mimeograph or duplicating machine for the game. He must find an experienced typist and train a student to use the duplicating machine. He must see to it that ample supplies of the proper forms and statements are available and that mimeograph paper is provided in adequate quantities. He should know how he wants the game room arranged.

The teacher should study the sample game forms that accompany this manual. It is suggested that such forms be filled out by the players in duplicate. "Messengers" (two or three students) pick up the forms as they are completed and take them immediately to the Control desk. Control (the teacher) reads the forms and passes them back to the messengers, who carry them to their intended recipients. Control should keep one copy of all written communications and statements of goals as a permanent record of the game's development. In the event a decision or goal is found to be inadmissible, the teacher rules the decision or goal "out of bounds" and returns it to the proper team with a brief explanation of his reasoning.

The game itself begins at the start of the next class period with the distribution of the "Scenario." Three such possible scenarios are provided with this manual, or the teacher may elect to write his own scenario. With the beginning of the game, all spoken communications between the teams cease. If possible, room dividers should be placed between the various teams to simulate isolation.

The first act is the preparation of the Statement of Goals by each team. This statement must be submitted to Control within a half-hour after the beginning of the game. The goals are to be ranked in order of importance and must be expressed in precise, rather than vague, terms; e.g., "peace" or "cooperation" must be more exactly defined. At the end of the game, the teams will be asked to judge their play according to how well they achieved these stated goals

and objectives. Such a statement ensures a measure of continuity in policy and reminds the players that they must justify their decisions on the basis of their nation's overriding goals.

As soon as the Statement of Goals has been completed and handed to Control, the teams may begin their decision making. Initial decisions will of course be determined by the content of the Scenario. The game may be slow in starting off, as the players experience uneasiness in making their first decisions. Questions may arise concerning the proper use of forms, the availability of reporters, and the correct procedure for international or bilateral conferences. The teacher must be ready to answer these initial inquiries so that the game can proceed. After an initial pause, the players will begin to feel more sure of themselves and the game will begin to acquire a personality and momentum all its own. The teacher should be especially careful to refrain from interfering in the game at this early stage: the players will gradually learn that they are truly "on their own."

Play continues until five minutes before the end of the class period. At that time, a temporary halt is called, and each team collects its materials and stores them for the next period's play. The students are permitted to discuss the day's activities, but not to enter into any binding agreements or secret "deals" between the game periods.

Two issues of the World Times should have come out during the first period of play. The teacher will collect his copies of all message, decision, and statement of goals forms, together with the issues of the newspaper, and prepare

the Scenario-Period II. This Scenario, like the initial one, should bring the players up to date, set the scene for the next period of play, and summarize the events of the first period. This new Scenario is distributed at the beginning of the second period of play.

Within reason, there are no limits to the number of periods of game play. Experience has shown, however, that students may tire of the game after four consecutive periods or four hours of continuous play. We suggest three periods of play. It is most important, however, not to reveal to the students the terminal time or day of the game. If the students know that the game will end on a Thursday, they may play rationally through Wednesday and then "go for broke" on Thursday, since the game is about to end. The teacher who informs his students that the game will end on a certain day may find himself deluged with irrational wars and government upheavals on that final day. So it is best to keep the students unsure as to the end of the game. Remember that the game has no predetermined outcome or conclusion and that it can be ended at any time by Control. The teacher is best able to determine for himself when the game is no longer serving its purpose.

It is interesting to build in a mechanism for a change in governments. The teacher may suggest to the students that Control will declare a government changed if the Opposition Leader can enlist the support of two of the three Advisers to the Head of State. This new majority must, however, present to Control in writing its objectives to present government policies and suggestions for viable alternatives.

Control will then determine whether a change in government should indeed be effected. Control may bring this about by formally announcing the change to the game world. Control then simply reassigns the roles of that team's members. For instance, it is likely that the former Head of State will become the Opposition Leader, that the Military Adviser will remain in his post, and that the Political and Foreign Policy Advisers will exchange jobs. Such a mechanism for orderly changes in government provides an added measure of realism and excitement to the game culture.

The teacher prepares a new Scenario for each new period of play. Play continues as before. Request for bilateral and international conferences must be approved by Control. Under no circumstances are the players to be allowed to leave their team tables; the only exception is a Foreign Policy Adviser attending a bilateral or international conference or a Head of State attending a summit conference. Oral communications outside these conferences are prohibited. All communications are to be by written form, except those that take place in the conferences. Such conferences may last only fifteen minutes and should be held in an unused corner of the room.

Control determines the appropriate moment for the end of the game. Often an international accord will have been signed, a new alliance will have been forged, or a war will have been fought. But just as often, no such conclusive action will have taken place. The teacher must use his own good sense to determine the end of the game. The important thing to remember is that the post-game Debriefing may be the most crucial and beneficial aspect of the whole game.

6. Debriefing

During the debriefing session, the teacher and the students will examine

and analyze the development of the game. This session will allow the teacher to link the game experience with the substantive material of the course or unit dealing with world affairs. Each Head of State is asked to make a brief presentation reviewing his nation's goals, decisions, and assessment of the game's outcome. The Editor of the World Times makes a statement regarding his editorial policy during the game and his judgment as to how the newspaper may have affected the progress of events in the game world. Following these individual statements, the teacher cross-examines the Heads of State in an attempt to induce from the players their conception of foreign policy decision making in the "real world," and whether or not this conception changed as a result of the experiences in the game.

7. Evaluation

The teacher, in his role as Control, will have been in a position to watch the interest level and skill of the various teams and players. A "strong" personality will tend to dominate a team; similarly, a "strong" team may dominate the course of events in the game. Experience indicates that the "strongest" teams are not necessarily the brightest ones, but rather the ones that excel in convincing the others of the strength and wisdom of their positions. The bright, yet introverted, student may find himself outmatched by more "argumentative" or "sociable" classmates.

One suggested evaluative instrument is provided in this manual. It assumes that the five team goals and objectives were ranked by the players at the outset of the game. Thus, "regaining territory lost in the June, 1967, War" would obviously

rank higher on the Egyptian Statement of Goals than an item such as "acquiring replacements for aircraft lost in United Arab Airlines." The objectives are thus ranked according to value. At the end of the game, the teacher determines whether the achievement of these valued objectives was "Excellent," "Satisfactory," or "Unsatisfactory," and circles the proper score. The total score is one way of measuring the team's effectiveness in realizing its objectives.

The teacher may also elect to give an examination covering the substantive material in the Student Narrative and the lecture on the decision-making process outlined earlier in this manual. The game is intended, of course, to increase the student's knowledge of world affairs and through the medium of a role-playing situation to further his appreciation of the complexity of decision making.

PART III - SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIALS FOR USE IN THE GAME

PREGAME QUIZ
(Based on the Student Narrative)

This is a True-False examination. Mark "T" for True and "F" for False.

_____1. The King-Crane Commission recommended that the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine be encouraged.

_____2. Arab armies decisively defeated Israeli forces when the Jewish nation proclaimed its independence in 1948.

_____3. Egypt today maintains control over the Sinai Peninsula.

_____4. The Arab League has been fairly successful in uniting the various Arab nations to pursue a common foreign policy and in guaranteeing the full sovereignty of all its members.

_____5. The Eisenhower Doctrine commits the United States to going to the aid of countries threatened by international Communism.

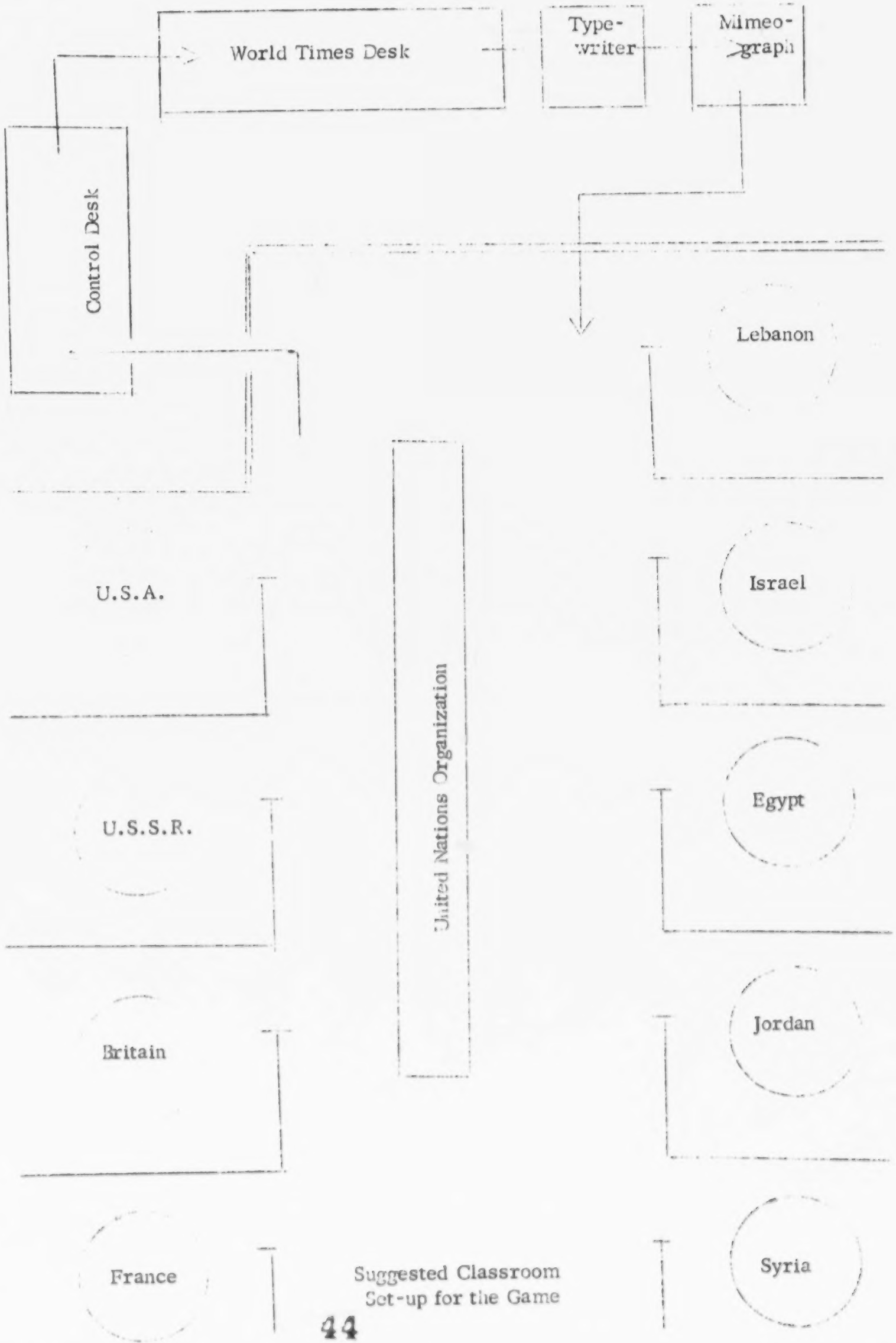
_____6. The Palestinian refugees are so embittered by their plight that they have built an independent guerrilla army to fight a terrorist war against Israel.

_____7. The United States sent troops to Lebanon in 1958.

_____8. Lebanon's culture is overwhelmingly Moslem.

_____9. The Baghdad Pact was a Soviet-led alliance of radical Arab states.

_____10. The Premier of Israel is Mrs. Golda Meir.



Suggested Classroom
Set-up for the Game

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Crisis at a Glance

ISRAELIS CLAIM

Palestine has never been an independent Arab state. It was, however, the national homeland of the Jews for almost 12 centuries before the Roman conquest of Jerusalem (63 B.C.). The Jewish assertion of a "moral right" to return home after 2,000 years of persecution reinforces this historic association. Furthermore, the Balfour Declaration of the British government in 1917, the League of Nations' mandate in 1922, the U.N. partition plan of 1947, and extensive present diplomatic recognition, all support the legality of Israel.

ARABS CLAIM

Palestine has been an Arab country for centuries, and the Jews have no moral or legal right to any part of it. At the end of World War I, Arabs outnumbered Jews in Palestine 10-1 when Britain (a colonial power with no right to assign Arab territory) approved it as a site for the Jewish homeland. The Nazi persecution in World War II did not give the Jews the right to cause hardship for the Arabs by occupying Palestine.

MAJOR ISSUES

Boundaries. The Arabs have never agreed to Israel's borders as created under the U.N. partition plan or as expanded in 1948-49 and again in 1967. They refuse to recognize Israel or negotiate for peace. Israel maintains that she can bargain only from strength and that she will not give up all the land she has seized until a permanent peace treaty has been established.

Raids. Arab terrorism and Israeli reprisals contributed to both the war of 1956 and the war of 1967. These incidents continue and could explode into another war at any time. Arab governments disclaim responsibility for the raids, and Israel maintains the right of reprisal.

Palestinian Arab Refugees. These hapless pawns are well into their second generation as refugees and now number 1.5 million. The U.N. has supported Arab insistence that they be returned or compensated, but Israel demands that the solution only be part of the peace agreement.

Right of Passage. Egypt has blockaded the Strait of Tiran from 1949 to 1956 and again in 1967. And since the 1967 war, the Suez Canal has been closed to all shipping.

Source: NEWSWEEK Educational Division

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Military Balance

	ISRAEL	ARABS
POPULATION	4,000,000	Egypt: 31,500,000 Jordan: 1,250,000 Syria: 5,600,000 Iraq: 8,500,000 Saudi Arabia: 4,000,000 TOTAL: 50,850,000
TOTAL MANPOWER	275,000	Egypt: 211,000 Syria: 60,500 Jordan: 55,000 TOTAL: 326,500
NAVY	3 submarines 1 destroyer 4 landing craft 9 motor torpedo boats	Egypt: 13 submarines 6 destroyers 20 small landing craft Jordan: a small number of patrol boats operating in the Dead Sea
COMBAT AIRCRAFT	270	Egypt: 400 Syria: 150 Jordan: 20 TOTAL: 570
TANKS	795	Egypt: 700 Syria: 990 Jordan: 230 TOTAL: 1,920

Source: NEWSWEEK Educational Division

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Suggested Scenario #1

In a startling joint communiqué, Jordan and Israel have announced that an agreement has been reached which puts an end to the state of war between them. Under the terms of the agreement, the West Bank will be returned to Jordan, but will be demilitarized, the responsibility for inspection falling upon the United Nations. Plans for an economic union between Jordan and Israel are also being negotiated. Jordan declares that it recognizes the state of Israel. Finally, the agreement includes a mutual pledge of nonaggression and a mutual defense alliance, providing that an attack on either Israel or Jordan will be considered an attack on both and will call forth their full combined military efforts.

The governments of Egypt and Syria immediately denounced the agreement as treason to the Arab cause and have issued a joint declaration calling on all Arabs to destroy the government of Jordan and to continue fighting for the liberation of Palestine. Both countries have broken off diplomatic relations with Jordan and put their military forces on full alert.

In Lebanon, the Premier has declared that the Jordanian move could only be considered a betrayal of the Arab cause; but he asserted that Lebanon will continue to recognize Jordan and not to recognize Israel. Lebanon would never fight against another Arab country, he stated emphatically, and will maintain strict neutrality

in any dispute between Arab states. "It is the Zionists to whom we should devote our full attention," he said.

The Soviet Union denounced the agreement as part of an imperialist plot to take over full control of the Middle East through the lackeys of imperialism: Jordan and Israel. "American oil monopolies are once again dictating events in the Middle East," Pravda charged. Moscow sources report that the latest aid agreements pledging Soviet arms and planes to Egypt and Syria will be implemented as soon as possible, since the Soviet government is afraid those two Arab states will be overwhelmed by the new Israel-Jordan alliance.

France announced that it would recognize the new agreement and in addition would send 50 fighter aircraft to Israel to support the new moves toward peace. Paris called on all governments to let the countries of the Middle East solve their own problems and requested a meeting of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union to agree on a Great Power policy of noninterference.

Britain declared that the maintenance of peace in the Middle East was its primary concern and that any armed attack by either side would automatically call forth British support and assistance for the victim of agression. London glumly noted that the terms of the new agreement provided for continued Israeli control over the holy city of Jerusalem, and expressed a desire that the city be internationalized under U. N. control.

President Nixon called the agreement "a constructive step toward a meaningful peace in the area." He went on to pledge American support for the maintenance of the territorial integrity of all nations in the Middle East. He concluded by saying that the United States would send no more arms to the area unless the Soviets did.

Suggested Scenario #II

President Nixon has just announced that because Israel has time and again failed to heed United Nations resolutions regarding withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Arab territory, the United States can no longer consider itself bound by past verbal assurances to the government of Israel. Mr. Nixon went on to add that he will do all that he can to bring about the implementation of U.N. resolutions restoring the Middle East to the situation prevailing before the June War of 1967, and to bring about the internationalization of Jerusalem. At the same time, he declared that Israeli compensation or repatriation of all Arab refugees from Palestine must be part of any final settlement in the Middle East.

Egypt welcomed the American move, but asserted that the United States must take positive steps to bring about these objectives before it can be believed. Cairo called on the Nixon administration to give economic and military aid to Arab nations, as much as has been given over the years to the Israelis. Hinting that the Arabs have been tricked by "imperialist" powers before, Cairo Radio asserted that only the liberation of Palestine could show the good will and good faith of the United States.

Syrian officials believed that the new United States move was only a pre-text to disassociate the Nixon administration from an impending Israeli attack on Syria. Syrian forces were put on full alert, and an urgent request for increased military assistance was sent to Moscow.

Lebanese and Jordanian government spokesmen welcomed American support for their cause and announced that the two Arab governments would work together with the United States to bring about "the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression" in the Middle East.

Reports from Tel Aviv are filled with angry denunciations of the Nixon administration. Officially, the Israeli government remains calm, asserting that no special relationship ever has existed between the United States and Israel, and that the Israelis are perfectly capable of standing on their own feet. Mrs. Meir reaffirmed her faith in the superb fighting quality of the Israeli armed forces and reportedly ordered increased patrols along the border with Jordan.

Moscow charged that the latest American move was "an imperialist trick." "Israel is the creation of Western imperialism, and it is impossible for the United States to dissociate itself from its own creation; the United States could never accept the defeat of the Zionists," charged Pravda. The Soviet government reaffirmed its support for the Arab cause and declared that only in solidarity with the socialist camp would the Arabs be able to liberate Palestine. The Kremlin urged the Egyptian government not to weaken its anti-American stance and not to accept aid from Washington.

London denied that any special relationship had ever existed between Israel and the western powers. The British government offered to mediate between

the Arabs and Israelis, concluding that "compromise must be the order of the day, with no absolutes on either side."

General de Gaulle stated that his only desire was to maintain peace in the Middle East, and that this can only be done by maintaining a balance of forces there. Therefore, the French President promised immediate economic and military assistance for Israel and announced his full support for the Israeli position.

Suggested Scenario #III

The government of Egypt has just announced the successful testing of Egypt's first atomic bomb and declared that Egypt was now well on its way toward developing an atomic weapons capability, both tactical and strategic. Cairo Radio asserted that the test proves the technological superiority of the Arab world and vowed that in the future any aggression against Arab lands would be met by the full force of Egypt's atomic defense.

Syria hailed the Egyptian test, calling it a triumph of Arab technology and proof that the Arab world would henceforth control its own destiny. A government spokesman, reminding his audience that Israel possessed no such atomic capability, said that "the road to the final liberation of Palestine from the Zionist usurpers is now open!"

King Hussein of Jordan stated that the Egyptian success was a "clear demonstration of the ability of the Arabs and other developing nations to achieve technological triumphs which will liberate our peoples from all forms of economic backwardness." Cautioning against overestimating the actual impact of this first test, Hussein called for cooperation in the peaceful development of atomic energy for the benefit of all Arabs.

Beirut Radio called the explosion "part of a new dawn of progress for the peoples of the Middle East." The Lebanese government expressed the hope that an Arab

atomic energy commission would be established to make the benefits of atomic energy available to all Arab peoples. It expressed a desire to see the Egyptian success turned into applications for peaceful uses. There was no mention of Israel in the Lebanese statements.

Israeli officials claimed that the new Egyptian test was fully expected, though signs of hasty cabinet-level consultations in Tel Aviv were evident. Government spokesmen asserted that the balance of power has not changed in the Arabs' favor and that Israel remains fully capable of defending itself. Nonetheless, the government was reportedly on the verge of dispatching emissaries to Western capitals to seek new arms shipments, and the Israeli Air Force increased its patrols over Egyptian territory.

Washington and London issued a joint statement expressing hope that the spirit of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty--to expand the peaceful uses of atomic and nuclear energy--will prevail in the Middle East. The statement warned that a test of a single bomb did not constitute an atomic striking force and cautioned the nations of the region against using the test as a pretext for aggression.

France welcomed the Egyptian success. The de Gaulle government has for many years been urging other nations to rely on independent nuclear striking forces. The French government offered to assist the Egyptians in perfecting their new atomic device.

The Soviets hailed the entry of Egypt into the atomic club and stated that this was clear evidence that the combined force of national liberation movements and Communism could advance to victory over colonialism and imperialism. Moscow pledged "all possible assistance" in developing the new weapon for the purpose of defending the "sacred soil" of Egypt.

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

STATEMENTS OF GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

List here, in order of importance, the four or five goals and objectives that your government wishes to pursue. Try to be specific: "peace" or "security" are vague and universal desires. As the game goes on, you must weigh your policies and decisions against these broad national aims.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Signed:

_____ Head of State

_____ Nation

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Suggested Goals and Objectives for the Teams
(Based on Suggested Scenario #I)

EGYPT:
1. Destroy Israel
2. Get back the territories lost in the June 1967 War
3. Strengthen its hold over the whole Arab world
4. Reduce Western influence in the Middle East

FRANCE:
1. Prevent another Arab-Israeli War
2. Increase French prestige as an independent power in the Middle East
3. Curry favor among the Arabs by supporting their territorial claims
4. Make the Arabs dependent on French arms shipments

GREAT BRITAIN:
1. Prevent another Arab-Israeli War
2. Safeguard British petroleum investments in the region
3. Guarantee Israel's political integrity
4. Try to re-establish good relations with the Arab states

ISRAEL:
1. Defend against possible attack from Arab neighbors
2. Hold on to territory gained in the June 1967 War as bargaining weapon
3. Achieve recognition by Arab governments of Israel's right to exist
4. Seek U.N. censure of Arab aggression

JORDAN:
1. Maintain the new alliance with Israel
2. Avoid retaliation from other Arab states
3. Regain economic independence by building tourism
4. Seek restitution for property destroyed in attacks by Israeli forces

LEBANON:
1. Steer clear of any new Arab-Israeli War
2. Seek restitution for planes lost in the Israeli attack on the Beirut airport
3. Keep foreign investment from fleeing the country
4. Become a mediator in the dispute, trying to stave off war

SYRIA:

1. Break the new Israel-Jordan Alliance
2. Regain possession of the Golan Heights
3. Provide bases for Arab freedom fighters waging guerrilla war against Israel
4. Secure increased military aid from the Soviets

U.S.A.:

1. Maintain the political and territorial integrity of Israel
2. Prevent another Arab-Israeli War
3. Reduce Soviet influence in the Middle East
4. Force the Arabs to recognize Israel

U.S.S.R.:

1. Avoid a confrontation with the United States that could lead to war
2. Reduce Western influence in the Middle East
3. Back the Arab position short of war with Israel
4. Force Israel to give up territory gained in the June 1967 War

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

OFFICIAL DECISION FORM

THE GOVERNMENT OF _____ HEREBY TAKES THE FOLLOWING DECISION:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(signed)_____
HEAD OF STATE

GAME PERIOD_____

TIME_____

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

OFFICIAL MESSAGE FORM

FROM _____ TO _____
OFFICIAL OFFICIAL

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NATION NATION

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GAME PERIOD _____

TIME _____

First Edition

WORLD TIMES

"All The News That Fits We Print."

On the first anniversary of the June war, rumors are circulating throughout the Middle East that major alliances are being broken and new alliances being made in recent days. Amman has been unusually cool toward the rest of the Arab bloc, especially Syria, one of the most outspoken members of the bloc.

In related news, President Richard Nixon returned to Washington last night to consult with the Ambassador from Israel.

FLASH - Reports coming out of Amman indicate serious unrest. Speculation is that recent shifts in foreign policy have aroused strong sentiments among the Palestine Liberation Organization.

-Editorials-

It is indeed sad to note that one full year after the last major flare-up, conditions in the Middle East have not improved, in fact, have grown worse. A regional conflict such as this will ultimately result in a major power confrontation, particularly given recent Chinese and Soviet naval maneuvers in the area.

Although Jordan is beginning to show a more conciliatory attitude toward beleaguered Israel, only time will tell if such efforts are indicative of an eventual lessening of tensions in the Middle East.

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST
A Sample of Questions for Governments to Consider

(prepared by the teacher for distribution
at the beginning of each new game period)

Consider these questions in the light of the objectives you stated at the beginning of the game:

1. Egypt. What were your motives for reopening the Suez Canal very quickly yesterday afternoon?

2. Syria. How can you expect to receive aid from both the United States and the Soviet Union when you persist in boycotting the peace talks and in impeding progress in the United Nations?

3. Jordan. What steps have you taken to strengthen your weak economy and to regain the West Bank of the Jordan River?

4. Israel. How much real progress have you made in gaining recognition by the Arabs of your right to exist?

5. United States. You have stopped arms shipments to the Middle East. Will you resume your arms shipments to Israel if the Arabs can keep on getting arms from "an undisclosed source?"

6. U.S.S.R. Doesn't your "hands-off" policy in the Middle East give the Red Chinese a chance to step in and fill the vacuum?

7. Lebanon. Doesn't your radical new policy of supporting Egypt and Syria threaten your economy, which is based on Western investments, Western banking interests, and Western tourists?

8. France. How do you intend to reconcile the Arabs and the United States so that both groups can attend the Paris talks? Would the talks really mean anything if the United States or the Arabs weren't there?

9. Great Britain. You have skillfully managed to obtain guarantees of oil shipments from Tunisia and Romania. But what would happen if a radical Arab group came to power in Tunisia? What would happen if the Soviets put pressure on Romania to break its oil agreement with you? Wouldn't you be drawn into a crisis situation in each case?

CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Suggested Scoring For The Teams

NATION: _____

OBJECTIVES STATED AT BEGINNING OF THE GAME:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING THESE OBJECTIVES: (CIRCLE CORRECT NUMBER)

OBJECTIVE #	EXCELLENT	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY
1.	30	15	8
2.	25	12	6
3.	20	9	4
4.	15	6	2
5.	10	3	0

TOTAL TEAM POINTS IN ACHIEVING STATED OBJECTIVES: _____